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Kellogg, Stephen W.

statues of Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman. Speech,..

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Class

Book

Statues of Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman.

SPEECH

OF

HON. STEPHEN W. KELLOGG,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 29, 1872.

The House having under consideration the following concurrent resolutions of the Senate—

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the thanks of Congress are presented to the Governor, and through him to the people of the State of Connecticut, for the statues of Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman, whose names are so honorably identified with our revolutionary history.

Resolved, That these works of art are accepted in the name of the nation, and assigned a place in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, already set aside by act of Congress for statues of eminent citizens, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be transmitted to the Governor of Connecticut;

Mr. KELLOGG said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The State of Connecticut has intrusted to its representatives in the two branches of Congress the grateful duty of presenting, in a formal manner, the statues of two "deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or from distinguished civic or military services," such as she has determined to be "worthy of this national commemoration."

The law under which these statues are presented to the people of the United States was passed by Congress in July, 1864, during the closing year of the great conflict for the preservation of the Union of the States. From the time of its passage, as well as from the fact that our State is here with a history of nearly two hundred and fifty years as a State and a colony, and that the popular admiration always follows military renown, it might have been expected that one statue at least should commemorate some one of her deceased citizens for his military achievements. Without including the wars of the present century, she had gone through the eight years of suffering, privation, and blood of the Revolution; the seven years' war with the French and Indians; the wars of the sovereigns, William, Anne, and George, with France, Spain, and their colonies, and the earlier Indian wars; the latter so fierce and so bloody that at the close of King Philip's brief war, as some quaint old historian tells us, "every eleventh family was houseless, and every eleventh soldier had sunk to his grave."

Going back to her earliest history, she might have selected her first great captain and soldier, Mason, who saved the infant colony in and around Hartford from extermination, and with his little band of ninety men utterly destroyed one of the mightiest and most warlike of the Indian tribes of New England; and whom Cromwell afterward sent for to return to England, to become a major general in the bravest army that had ever fought on English soil. Or, coming down to the period when she rose from a colony to her position as a State, she might have selected Wooster, who, with Greene, of Rhode Island, was among the eight generals first appointed by the colonial Congress in June, 1775, "lavish of his life," as the historian tells us; and who was the first of those eight generals to fall in battle at the head of his troops, defending the soil of his native State. She might have selected her own Putnam, for whom a statue is about being erected in one of her capital cities, who "dared to lead where any dared to follow," and who, as the bells rang out the first alarm of actual war from Lexington common and Concord, left his plow in the unfinished furrow and rode the same horse one hundred miles in eighteen hours, reaching the scene of war at Cambridge by sunrise the next morning. She might have selected her young patriot and scholar, Nathan Hale, her early martyr to the cause, who, to "drum-beat and heart-beat," trod the pathway to the tree of death with exultation, and whose only regret, as expressed to his brutal executioners, was "that he had but one life to give for his country." Or, as I understand some States have determined, if she had looked over the long roll of her sons who in our own day have laid down their lives to preserve the Union of these States, she might have selected, under the terms of this resolution, a Sedgwick, a Lyon, a Foote, or a Mansfield. But no; she has chosen no one from all her heroes in history, however illustrious or however distinguished, who had won his renown in the confused noise of battle and with garments rolled in blood; she brings with eminent fitness as her offering two of her greatest and purest men, who in their day and generation gave their lives to the work of establish-

ing a State and a nation upon the lasting foundations of virtue and liberty. Bancroft says:

"History has ever celebrated the commanders of armies on which victory has been entailed, the heroes who have won laurels in scenes of carnage and rapine. Has it no place for the founders of States; the wise legislators who struck the rock in the wilderness, and the waters of liberty gushed forth in copious and perennial fountains?"

Those eloquent words of the historian were written concerning two of the founders of the infant colony of Connecticut, one of whom was the author of the first of all the American constitutions that deserves the name of a constitution. And yet, when she had rolled up the scroll of all the names blazoned on her history for their military renown, there still remained on its open pages a list of names that well might have made her pause and hesitate. With "founders of States," like Haynes, Hopkins, Davenport, and Eaton; with a scholar like Noah Webster, whose name is known wherever the English language is studied or spoken; with presidents of Yale College, like Timothy Dwight and Jeremiah Day; with theologians and pulpit orators, like Thomas Hooker, Jonathan Edwards, Joseph Bellamy, and Lyman Beecher; with statesmen, like William Samuel Johnson, Oliver Wolcott, (father and son,) and Chief Justice Ellsworth; with a constellation of poets, in which shine Brainard, Hillhouse, Halleck, and Percival, as a few only of its bright stars; with inventors like Eli Whitney and John Fitch, who have added ages to the march of improvement and millions to the wealth of the nation and the world—she has left them all with others as names the world will not willingly let die, and has selected her "model Governor" at the period when she emerged from a colony to a State, and her "wise legislator" and eminent statesman of the same generation. She brings you the statues of JONATHAN TRUMBULL and ROGER SHERMAN.

It is well for us to pause for a brief hour in our work of legislation to contemplate the character and services of two such men. I approach the subject with trembling solicitude, for I know I must fall very far short of doing justice to their character and their fame. I shall be pardoned if I speak somewhat of the history of Connecticut at the period in which they lived; for the biography of these two men and the history of their State for forty years are nearly one and the same.

Governor Trumbull was born in 1710, in Lebanon, Connecticut, a town which may be well styled in that State as the "mother of Governors," and which his biographer supposes to have been named, like the ancient Lebanon, from a grove of goodly cedars. In a period of one hundred and two years, Governors born in that town have held the office thirty-four years.

Entering Harvard College, Trumbull graduated with high honors when only seventeen years of age. He prepared himself for the ministry, and with a ripe scholarship and attainments in all branches of knowledge surpassed by few at that day, he was just entering upon his work of life when the death of an older brother changed all his plans. He assumed the charge of his brother's affairs, in connection with his father, and became a merchant. At the age of twenty-three he was elected to the Colonial Assembly, and was often reëlected, and was several years speaker of the house. At the age of thirty he was assistant or member of the council, or upper branch of the colonial Legislature. With his love of all useful knowledge he also pursued the study of law, and was for many years a judge of one or more of the courts in the colony. He was chief justice of its highest court in 1766, Roger Sherman being one of his associates upon the bench. For nearly fifty years, until he voluntarily laid off the robes of office, after the peace which secured to the colonies their independence as States, he was constantly kept in public life by the people of his colony and State.

In the war of England with France, which began in the colonies in 1754, Jonathan Trumbull was one of the most earnest and energetic men in raising troops and supplies. Nearly every year during that war he was one of the commissioners of the colony of Connecticut to confer with the Governors and commissioners of other colonies in planning campaigns, and procuring the means to carry them on, while he was constant in his efforts at home for the same purpose. Twice during this period was he appointed colonial agent to the court of King George, but he preferred to remain in the colony and give his energy and time to the work of the war. Though the colony of Connecticut was more remote from the danger of hostile inroads by the French and Indians from Canada than the other New England colonies, and though their houses and their firesides were comparatively safe from the torch and the scalping-knife, yet the little colony of Connecticut, by the energy of Trumbull and his associates, furnished about thirty thousand men from its humble villages and scattered hamlets for the different campaigns of that war.

The men were enlisted for a single campaign only, as hostile operations were then seldom carried on in the winter season; and year after year did the young colony send its quota of five thousand men, and more, into the contest. Though the provincial troops at the outset were sneered at as raw militia by the British officers, yet they proved their efficiency in many a tangled ambuscade and many a hand-to-hand conflict with the French and their savage allies, when British officers with their regular troops were powerless. Not a forest in all the broad wilderness between Connecticut and the Canadas, that was not threaded and trodden by Putnam and his Connecticut rangers. And from the day of disaster and gloom, when the news came of Braddock's defeat in the wilderness, down to the hour when Wolfe fell amid the shouts of the final and crowning victory on the plains before Quebec, Trumbull devoted himself to the work of defending the colonies and carrying the war into the enemy's country,

with an energy that never wearied and a faith that never faltered.

But it was the period of twenty years succeeding the close of that war that gave Trumbull his high place in our history. Though engrossed with public duties, he was a successful and wealthy merchant, largely engaged in commerce with ships of his own. Ardent in his patriotism, he was among the first to resist the acts of Parliament for taxation of the colonies. He refused to take the oath required under the stamp act, and would not remain in the room when the Governor and some of his associates in office proposed to take it. He was deputy Governor in 1766, and became Governor of the colony in 1769. He saw his wealth all swept away by disasters at sea, and by the measures of the British Government that destroyed the trade of the colonies. He might have enriched himself by taking sides as every other colonial Governor did with the mother country.

While his old college classmate, the tory Hutchinson of Massachusetts, was harassing that colony; while Tryon of New York, Dunmore of Virginia, and the Governors of the other colonies were doing their utmost to defeat the purposes of the patriots, and keep the colonies in subjection to the English Government, Trumbull alone of them all resisted its oppressive measures. It is true that he was elected by the people of his colony, while the others were generally appointed by the Crown; but some of them had been born, and others had lived long in the colonies; one of them, even, a son of the patriot Benjamin Franklin was Governor of New Jersey. While they were instruments to crush the rising spirit of patriotism, Trumbull was industriously gathering magazines of powder and ball and military supplies of all kinds; for he early foresaw the conflict that was sure to come. To his unwearied exertions is chiefly due the gratifying fact in her history, that as in the old French war, so Connecticut again furnished during the Revolution more men and supplies, in proportion to her population and means, than any other State, and more men in fact than any State except Massachusetts.

And there is another equally interesting fact in her history, that with repeated invasions by the enemy during that war, and with so many men absent in the Continental armies, no hostile force was ever suffered to remain hardly a week within her limits. Though her regiments held the Highlands under Putnam; though they were in the northern army under Gates; though they were in the scanty lines of Washington's army; the energy of Trumbull was such that no invading force was ever able to hold itself but a few hours or days at most within the State. Yet she was peculiarly liable to invasion; for there was always an enemy within a few hours' sail of her coast. New York, in her immediate vicinity, was held by the British forces from its capture in 1776, down to the close of the war, and their close proximity led to repeated incursions into Connecticut. Trumbull infused his own spirit into her people, and the advancing footsteps of the enemy were still fresh upon her soil in every instance of invasion, when they were forced to retrace them to escape ignominious defeat; and her blazing towns and villages were still burning to light their retreating footsteps to the shelter of the vessels that had brought them to her borders.

Trumbull bore the honored title and distinction of "the rebel Governor" in England. Washington gave him the good old homely name of "Brother Jonathan," by which he and his country have been and will be known the world over. Washington relied upon him, as on an elder brother, for counsel and aid all through the war. When he first assumed command of an army without ammunition and without supplies, and his council of war could devise no means to procure them, he "consulted Brother Jonathan," and the supplies came. When his army was starving at Valley Forge he again appealed to the Governor of Connecticut, and the choicest of her cattle and the fattest of her flocks were sent to their relief. Again, in the winter of 1780, he relied upon Trumbull to supply his northern army with provisions, and relied not in vain. And the final campaign that broke the power of the English armies and culminated in the surrender at Yorktown, was planned by Washington, with Trumbull and Count Rochambeau in council, in a house near the banks of the Connecticut.

The war was ended. Trumbull in the return of peace saw his own rest from the unremitting toil of years. He had sat in the State council of war one thousand days during its progress, with all his other duties as Governor and chief organizer of the work of war. Though a grateful State would have retained him in the office which he had held fourteen years, he was now past three-score and ten, and he felt that his work was done. He retired with honors such as were never paid to a retiring Governor in his State before or since his day; and two years after, the people of his State were mourning as bereaved children over his grave.

I shall not attempt by any poor words of mine to portray his character, further than this brief sketch will disclose it. Bushnell, in his historic estimate of Connecticut, a speech that ought to be preserved and read by every fireside in the State, says of Trumbull:

> "He was one of those prudent, true-minded men that hold an even hand of authority in stormy times, and suffer nothing to fall out of place, either by excess or defect of service; to whom Washington could say, 'I cannot sufficiently express to you my thanks, not only for your constant and ready compliance with every request of mine, but for your prudent forecast in ordinary matters, so that your force has been collected and put in motion as soon as it has been demanded."

Washington wrote of him, also, after his death:

> "A long and well-spent life in the service of his country places Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots."

His biographer sums up his character:

> "If strong intellect and extensive knowledge,

fixed industry, the conception of great ends, and perseverance and success in their execution; if an exalted sense of honor, incorruptible integrity, energy of purpose, consummate prudence, impregnable fortitude, a broad, generous, and quenchless patriotism, charities ever active, wise, and fervent—if all these qualities, in union with a most amiable temper and the gentlest manners, and in affiliation, too, with all the noble graces of the Christian faith; if these constitute a great and a good man, that man was Trumbull."

Fortunate as was the country in Governor Trumbull's own life, he and his country were also fortunate in his children. His son-in-law was, with Sherman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. His four sons, he gave them all to his country's service. One of them was the first Commissary General of the armies of the United States, a place at that day of almost insurmountable difficulty, as the young States were mostly without tents, magazines, or supplies. His labors and anxieties in that trying position broke him down in health, and he died in the midst of the struggle while disaster and uncertainty hung over the cause. Another son, of his own name, rose to the rank of Paymaster General, and was selected by Washington as his confidential secretary; and after the close of the war he was elected to the House of Representatives in the First Congress under the Constitution. He was Speaker of the House in the Second Congress, and afterward a Senator. His State then called him home to fill the executive position his father had so long honored. He was elected Governor, and filled the office by successive reëlections eleven years, and died in the office. The mantle of the father had descended upon the son, and never since the days of the prophets had it fallen upon one more worthy to wear it. And the youngest son, fresh from his college studies, plunged into the war with all the fire and zeal of boyhood, and at the age of nineteen marched to the army before Boston as adjutant of the first Connecticut regiment. Young as he was, he was made aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces the first year of the war, and was colonel and adjutant general the second year. His pencil has preserved for us the scenes of some of the principal events of the war for independence. The Trumbull gallery at Yale College is alike his monument and his tomb. By authority of Congress, in 1817, he was authorized to paint the historical pictures for the Rotunda of the new Capitol. So long as the stones of this Capitol shall remain in their places let the statue of the father stand among the founders and benefactors of all the States of the Union; and so long as its lofty Dome shall swell toward the skies, let the son speak from the canvas of the Declaration of Independence, and of the battle scenes by which we gained our place among the nations of the earth.

The youth of Sherman was far different from that of Trumbull. For him no college opened wide its doors; for him there was no royal or easy road to learning. For him, his earliest youth was a toil and struggle for the ordinary necessities of life. Born in Newton, Massachusetts, in April, 1721, his parents removed with him two years after to Stoughton, in that State. With no means of education, except the limited and meager facilities of the common schools of that day, as much below those of the present as the latter are below the highest universities of the land, he was early sent as an apprentice to learn the trade of a shoemaker; and at the age of nineteen was left to the care and support of a widowed mother and a large family of younger children. He devoted himself to that duty.

There is something beautiful in the picture that is sometimes seen in life, of a youth hardly yet on the verge of manhood, assuming cheerfully the duty and the burden of providing for a dependent family, left helpless by the death of a father. It is virtue, fraternal, filial, and heroic as that which bore a father from the flames of Troy. Roger Sherman did more. Feeling deeply the disadvantages in his own case of a want of more facilities for education, as his industry afterward accumulated the means, he gave two of his younger brothers an education for professional life. Removing at the age of twenty-three with his mother and family from eastern Massachusetts to the town of New Milford, in western Connecticut, it is related that he traveled the whole distance on foot and carried his kit of tools upon his shoulders. With a burning and unconquerable thirst for knowledge, he became a self taught mathematician and scholar. Like Washington, he became a surveyor; like Franklin, he made astronomical calculations and prepared tables for almanacs published in the city of New York. Borrowing a law book or two, without a day's instruction in law school or office, he mastered the principles of legal science and was admitted to the bar when thirty-three years old, an age most men would think too far advanced to begin the work of such a profession; yet he became one of the first jurists in the State.

The next year he was elected to the colonial Legislature, and then began his public life, which continued almost without interruption until his death. After a few years of practice he was made judge of the county court of Litchfield county. Removing to New Haven in 1761, he was soon appointed to the same office in that county; and in 1766 he was appointed judge of the superior or highest court in the colony, which office he held twenty-three years, until after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. For nineteen years he was also assistant, or member of the upper branch of the General Assembly. With Trumbull, he was among the foremost to resist the oppressive measures of taxation, and the encroachments of the Crown on the rights of the colony. The stamp tax, with such men at the head of the people, could not be enforced in Connecticut. The stamps sent there were returned, uncanceled and unsold; and though her deeds at that date ran in the name and year of King George, no deed or parchment on her records bears the blot of his stamp upon its face. He was elected to the

first general Congress of the colonies that assembled in 1774; and with all his duties as judge, as assistant, and as member of the Governor's council of safety in his own State, he was a leading member of Congress, and upon its most important and laborious committees.

It is enough to show the estimation in which he was held by his associates in Congress, that he was selected as one of the committee of five, with Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and Livingston, to prepare a draft of the Declaration of American Independence. The world knows how well the work was done. Sherman with Adams had no fear but that their work would stand; his life had been one of encounter with obstacles that most men would shrink from, and he saw none to intimidate him in the pathway to independence. Yet those men all knew when they signed that Declaration, that their only alternative was success or a scaffold. Hanging was then more popular for treason, as well as other crimes, than it is now. When young Charles Carrell, of Maryland, hastening to be in time to sign the Declaration wrote his name, it is said that some of the delegates remarked, "You will get clear, there are several of your name in Maryland." With a dash of his pen he wrote the words "of Carrollton," saying, "They will know me now." And in all those fifty-six immortal names, with bold John Hancock's at their head, there is no trace of trembling or agitation in a single signature save one, and his hand trembled only from age and paralysis, for he knew no fear.

The spirit of the English law, as well as the rage of England at their colonies for their resistance, was then such as to insure summary execution for the leaders, in the army as well as in Congress, if they were unsuccessful. When some one sneeringly remarked, for persons spoke sneeringly of those in office then as well as now, that Governor Trumbull's family were well provided for, the younger Trumbull replied, "Yes, we are well provided for; we are sure of four halters if we do not succeed."

At the close of the war Sherman was appointed one of a committee of two to make the first complete revision of the statute laws of his State, a work which was admirably performed. He was chosen the first mayor of the city of New Haven, when her charter was granted in 1784, which office her citizens compelled him to hold until his death, though absent much of the time in discharge of the duties of his other positions.

But a work of far more importance to the country and the world awaited Sherman. A common danger and a common necessity had held the States together during the war; but when that bond of union was gone, their Articles of Confederation were found to be what Lord North stigmatized them in the outset, "a rope of sand." Outbreaks and armed resistance to law were occurring in some of the most patriotic States. A Convention was called as a last resort to devise some way to give the general Congress additional powers, and to provide a remedy for the existing defects in the articles of union. Sherman, Ellsworth, and William Samuel Johnson, the three ablest lawyers in the State, were appointed delegates from Connecticut.

From May till the Convention adjourned in September, 1787, Sherman was constantly present, and was one of the leading minds in proposing, advocating, and adopting the great distinctive features of the Constitution. He had made the science of government a study for years, and there was found among his papers after his death, a manuscript prepared several years before the Convention of 1787, containing provisions for remedying the defects of the old Articles of Confederation, nearly all of which were substantially incorporated in the new Constitution. He was thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of State rights in its true sense; not that miserable perversion of the term, called State sovereignty, that would include the right of withdrawal from the bond of Union, dissolution and universal ruin. He represented the principles of his State faithfully in this respect, for Connecticut was one of the earliest and foremost in its assertion of the doctrine of State rights. She was far in advance of the other colonies or States upon this question, for she had lived under a charter and form of government that made her substantially a free and independent colony for more than a hundred years. Her delegates alone of all the colonies had refused to enter into a union, proposed in convention at Albany, July 4, 1754, just twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence, for the common defense of the colonies, with a grand council chosen by the colonies, and a governor general appointed by the Crown. They feared that it might "be employed to the subversion of their liberties." In Sherman's language, as a brief abstract of it is found in the Madison Papers, early in the proceedings of the Convention of 1787, "the objects of the union he thought were few: first, defense against foreign danger; secondly, against internal disputes and a resort to force; thirdly, treaties with foreign nations; fourthly, regulating foreign commerce and drawing revenue from it." These, with a "few lesser objects," he said, were all that "rendered a confederation of the States necessary; all other matters, civil and criminal, would be much better in the hands of the States."

Sherman's clear conception of the rights of the people and the proper powers of government were such that he saw more plainly than some of his associates, that neither State nor national Government should be recognized as having too broad powers of legislation. Early in the proceedings of the Convention Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, submitted a series of resolutions for action. One of them declared "that the national Legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the legislative rights vested in Congress by the Confederation, and moreover to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be in-

terrupted by the exercise of individual legislation." When the question was taken in Committee of the Whole upon this clause of Mr. Randolph's resolutions, the delegates of every State voted for its adoption except Connecticut, which was divided; Roger Sherman alone of all the delegates being recorded as voting "no." And it was Mr. Sherman's pen that afterward, in the First Congress, gave the tenth article of amendment its peculiar form and phraseology, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, *or to the people.*"

One of the propositions urged in the Convention was the power of a negative by a two-thirds vote of Congress upon all laws passed by State Legislatures interfering, "in the opinion of Congress," with the general interests and harmony of the Union; and this was advocated by such statesmen as Madison and Pinckney. Sherman vigorously opposed it, as subversive of the rights of the States, and this and other kindred propositions were finally defeated. The question of one term only for the presidential office was repeatedly discussed; and a clause to that effect was adopted, with a longer term of office, by the votes of all the States but Connecticut and Georgia. It was afterward reconsidered, and again adopted by the votes of all the States except Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. When the term of office was afterward reduced to four years the clause against reëligibility was stricken out by nearly an unanimous vote. Sherman opposed the restriction to one term at every stage of the proceedings, saying, according to the Madison Papers, that he "was against the doctrine of rotation, as throwing out of office the men best qualified to execute its duties." "If he behaves well, he will be continued; if otherwise, displaced on a succeeding election." He resisted the use of the word "slave," or any admission in the Constitution that there could be a property in man; for he believed in his heart that God had made of one blood all the nations of the earth. Though he was too strongly imbued with the principles of State rights to interfere with the laws of the States upon that subject, yet he believed the Constitution should lend it no countenance or color of authority. His opinion of the true construction of the clause for the rendition of fugitives, which was never designed by its framers to impose its servile work upon officers of the national Government, may be well understood from his language in the Convention, "that there was no more propriety in the public seizing and surrendering of a slave or servant than a horse." This was his answer, taking those who claimed there was a property in the service of men upon their own ground. Madison, Pinckney, and others proposed that the Supreme Court should have the power to try all impeachments; Sherman earnestly resisted it, claiming that this grave and delicate duty should rest upon no judges appointed by the President, but that the States themselves, represented and sitting as equals in the Senate, was the only high and legitimate tribunal for trials of this important character.

But the crowning work of Sherman in that Convention, with the aid of three or four other leading delegates, was the adoption of that new and anomalous feature for a national Government in the Constitution, the equality of the States in the Senate. With his deep convictions of the necessity of preserving the rights of the States, he had worked out the difficult problem of a permanent union of independent States in one national Government. He saw that to preserve the smaller States from encroachments or absorption by the larger, they must be equal in one of the branches of the law-making power of the General Government, while the other branch should more directly represent the people of the States, according to their greatness or population. He saw that a union of two forces was necessary, by which the system of States might move on together in one harmonious whole. He saw, certainly, what all afterward admitted, that the Constitution could never be ratified by nine of the thirteen States, unless the smaller ones were recognized as equals in one branch of the central Legislature; and that the anxious work of months would result in its rejection, and anarchy, jealousy, and ruin would follow in swift succession.

The larger States resisted the proposition, claiming that the smaller States might combine to rob the larger of their rightful powers; and that the same rule of representation should apply to both branches of Congress. Virginia resisted it; every State south of her resisted it. Twice was it voted down; and twice did it seem they could never complete their work so as to secure its ratification by a sufficient number of States. But, upon Sherman's motion, after its second defeat, a select committee of one from each State was raised to consider this vital portion of the frame-work of the Constitution; and Sherman's arguments before that committee were so clear and convincing that a majority at last consented to adopt that feature in the organization of the Senate, with a provision in the nature of a compromise, that all bills for raising revenue should originate in the popular branch of Congress; and the report of the two provisions was made to the convention. Virginia and others of the larger States still resisted. Madison claimed it would destroy the proper foundations of Government to substitute an equality in place of a proportional representation; and Randolph called upon the Convention to adjourn, that "the larger States might consider the steps proper to be taken in the present solemn crisis of the business." It was finally adopted by a bare majority, and the great obstacle to its ratification by the smaller States removed.

Connecticut had been ably supported in this struggle by Patterson, of New Jersey, and others; but it was Sherman's prudence and sound judgment mainly that saved the Convention from splitting asunder upon this rock of discord. In the angry strife of days over this question he maintained his calmness;

and at just the right time, in just the right place, with a few well-chosen words of conciliation and sound argument, he convinced a majority of the delegates of the wisdom and necessity of this feature in the Constitution. I have claimed no more for Sherman than history awards him. The records and debates of the Convention, and all contemporary evidence fully prove it. Hollister's history, in the chapter on the Constitution of the United States, shows clearly the great work of Sherman in the framing of that instrument. Bancroft, not having reached this period in his history, but writing one of the early chapters of the revolutionary struggle, and looking forward to the future years of Sherman, says of him, that "his solid sense and powers of clear analysis were to constitute him one of the master builders of the Republic." And the ablest southern statesman of this century, John C. Calhoun, in his well-known speech in the Senate, in February, 1847, has given his full confirmation.

There was a painting of a rising sun behind the chair of the president of the Convention. It is related that when the last name was about to be signed to the Constitution, Franklin, then past four score years, but with his eye still undimmed, pointing to the picture and speaking of the difficulty of artists in distinguishing between a rising and setting sun, said to some of the members:

"I have often and often, in the course of this session, and in the vicissitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

A rising sun! And yet how little could those men, with all their broad statesmanship and forecast, realize the future of that country whose sun was just rising upon their great work. Sherman had said in debate in the Convention, in providing in the Constitution for the admission of new States, that the number of new States could probably never equal or exceed the old, and no member had been wild enough in his imagination to predict a larger number. Louisiana with its vast valley was then not theirs; the continent beyond the Mississippi was an unknown land. If the vail of the future could have been lifted, and they could have seen that sun at the end of one hundred years, emerged from the clouds of civil war, and still in its ascent, as we trust, shining upon forty States and forty millions of freemen; or if the end of another century could have disclosed to them its scores of States and a hundred millions of people, each bearing the proud title of an American citizen, filling up a continent from ocean to ocean, and from the frozen lakes that fling off the glancing sunbeams to the tropical seas where eternal summer reigns, well might they have bowed their faces to the earth in blinding amazement, and prayed God to spare their aching sight the burning glories of the vision.

The Constitution adopted, Sherman returned home to secure its ratification by his State. He was a member of the State convention called in the following January for that purpose, and by pen and speech did much to make his State among the first to ratify the work in which he had borne so prominent a part. Elected from New Haven as a member of the first House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution, he took a foremost rank among the influential men of that body. Connecticut then had one thirteenth of all the members of the House, her average number in the old thirteen States. The wonderful growth of the country in less than a century is illustrated by the fact that now she has less than one sixtieth, and after this Congress will have less than one seventieth of the members. There were many amendments to the Constitution proposed during the first Congress that were not adopted. New York alone proposed thirty-two of them. Sherman generally opposed them, claiming that time should be given for the Constitution to be fairly tested, and as defects were discovered the remedy by amendment could be applied.

An amendment was proposed, acknowledging the inalienable right of the people to instruct their representatives upon all questions, in addition to the right of petition for a redress of grievances; a practice in the British Parliament until the great Burke boldly resisted it a few years before. While sustaining the right of petition, Sherman strenuously opposed the doctrine of instruction; for he believed, with Burke, that a representative in Parliament or Congress was elected to be a "pillar of the State, and not a mere weather-cock on the top of the edifice, to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale," or point the way the wind blew at home. When told that a certain bill for raising revenue to restore the public credit would be unpopular with his constituents, his reply was, "The only way for me to know if popular opinion is in favor of a measure is to examine whether it is right;" words that might well be blazoned on the walls of this Chamber, for our instruction and guidance.

He strongly supported the assumption of the State debts and the great financial measures brought forward by Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, a statesman of whom Webster said that "he touched the dead corpse of the public credit and it sprung upon its feet."

The States had severally contracted large debts during the war of the Revolution, some of them in much larger proportion than others. It was urged that the debts of the several States, that had accrued for the common benefit and defense of all, should be assumed by the national Government, as the new Constitution had taken from the State authorities the right to collect duties upon imports, upon the faith of which the debts in a great measure had been created. No internal taxation could meet these obligations without ruin to several of the States. Once adopted by a bare majority in the House, the vote was soon after reconsidered and defeated by the votes of new members that were not present at the first vote. An earnest and bitter contest followed, and though justice to

creditors and public necessity alike demanded the assumption of the State debts by the Federal Government, neither the wisdom and clear logic of Sherman nor the fiery eloquence of Fisher Ames could save it from defeat in the House. The plan of assumption, as originally proposed by Sherman, was finally adopted by the Senate before the close of the session, and concurred in by the House after a long and exciting struggle, and the foundations of a national credit and a national prosperity were established.

At the close of the First Congress Sherman was elected to the Senate, and after two years' service in that body, the debates of which were not published, he died in July, 1793. The tablet on his tomb at New Haven speaks of him as "mayor of the city of New Haven, and Senator of the United States," the two offices he held at the time of his death.

The great men who were associated with Sherman have left on record their estimate of his ability and distinguished services. John Adams, long after the death of Sherman, wrote of him that he had "the clearest head and the steadiest heart," and that he was "one of the soundest and strongest pillars of the Revolution." Jefferson wrote of him that "he was a very able and logical debater, steady in the principles of the Revolution, always at the post of duty."

His purity and integrity as a public man and as a private citizen were equally eminent. His strongest opponents never failed to recognize those high qualities in his character. He would do right though the heavens fell. And it is not known that a word of slander was ever spoken of him. Washington could not escape the fiercest and most atrocious libels and abuse. Trumbull's sensitive spirit was wounded by bitter and calumnious charges against his honesty and his patriotism near the close of the war; but an indignant people fully vindicated their fair fame. It was Sherman's singular fortune to escape even the breath of calumny, and he walked through the fiery furnace of political life for forty years without so much as the smell of fire upon his garments.

I have said that Trumbull was fortunate in his children; the same may be said of Sherman. With a good old patriarchal family of fifteen children, he found time in all his public employments to care well for their good training and instruction. He devoted the earnings of a life of industry to give them a thorough education, and to raise them to a condition better than his own had been in early life. Nor did his liberality in this respect stop with his own children. A nephew, educated by him, Roger Minott Sherman, was long one of the first lawyers in the land. Four of Roger Sherman's daughters married four such men as Judge Simeon Baldwin, Jeremiah Evarts, Samuel Hoar, and President Day of Yale College. His descendants have stood in the front rank of the learned professions. One of them now represents the United States among the eminent counsel for the Geneva conference. More than one of them have been in the Cabinet; they have been in the Senate; they have been in this House; and, if the gentleman will pardon the allusion, there sits near me now, as a member of this House, a grandson of Roger Sherman, whose earnest zeal and eloquence on this floor in behalf of universal education and good government is worthy of his honored ancestry.

I should omit the chief and crowning element of greatness in the character of these two men if I did not speak of their devotion and faith in the Christian religion. Unlike the fallen cardinal, they served their God with all the zeal they served their country. They had all the blessings the poet says should accompany old age:

"As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends."

But they had what was higher and better—the recollections of a long life devoted to the discharge of every religious duty. Both were earnest Christians from their youth up; both were also well read in the whole science of theology. Trumbull, as I have said, had studied for that profession in his youth; and he wrote sermons after he laid off the cares of office in his old age. Sherman, with his thirst for all good knowledge, had studied thoroughly the doctrines of revealed religion and the writings of the ablest divines. Never were truer words spoken on such an occasion than those of Trumbull's pastor at his funeral, that "his chief glory ariseth from his truly religious and pious character." "Know ye not," said Rev. Jonathan Edwards, with equal truth concerning Sherman, using the words of David concerning Abner, "know ye not that there is a great man fallen this day in Israel."

TRUMBULL and SHERMAN! Gratefully and gladly their State presents you two such bright exemplars in her history. It was a conception of almost poetic beauty, enacted into the dry details of an appropriation bill, that set apart that Hall for the statues of two of the illustrious dead of each State. There let their statues stand, mute yet eloquent, surrounded by the representative statues of all the States of the Union—a senate in marble of heroes and of statesmen, in that grand old Hall which for nearly half a century rang with the eloquence of the ablest orators in the land; where echoes of the voices of Clay and of Corwin, of Webster and John Quincy Adams, still linger among its columns and arches. There let their statues stand forever! Though their lips are silent, they yet speak to us with a voice of authority as from the skies, enjoining us to preserve and maintain the blessed institutions of liberty and a free Government, which each of them gave the best years of a long life to establish and defend. And while American liberty shall survive; while Massachusetts with her wealth of great names shall honor the memory of her Hancock and her Adams; while Virginia shall remember to her undying glory that her soil contains the dust of her Washington and her Jefferson, the names of Trumbull and Sherman shall hold the same proud eminence, and be honored and cherished as household words in the hearts and by the hearthstones of the people of Connecticut.

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